[President.]

into operation the Agricultural and Land Mortgage Bank, as soon as those things are ready, whether it is in December or in January, a meeting will be summoned. I have therefore decided that the election should be either on Monday or on Tuesday.

MR. E. JOHN PHILIPOSE: With your permission, I thought you wanted to know the sense of the House.

PRESIDENT: On the alternative between Monday and Tuesday.

MR. K. T. THOMAS: With your permission, may I then suggest that notice may not be fixed to be given on a Sunday.

PRESIDENT: Now that the opinion is that notice should not be made to be given on Sunday, the election of the Deputy President will take place on Tuesday at 9·30 A. M.

RESOLUTIONS ON MATTERS OF GENERAL PUBLIC INTEREST.

Resolution re *communal representation in the Secretariat*—(contd.)

RAO BAHADUR RAJYASEVANIRATA DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI: Sir, on the resolution under discussion, namely, that this Assembly recommends to the Government that immediate steps be taken for giving proper representation in the Secretariat to all important communities in the State, especially in the places of Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries and Superintendents, I have practically stated all that I had to say last evening. I only wish to wind up my speech in the course of a few minutes. I tried to show in the course of my speech yesterday the untenability of some of the accusations made against the Secretariat by the mover of the motion. By your kind intervention, Sir, one of the allegations made against the Secretariat by the honourable member Mr. K. R. Narayanan has also been shown to be without foundation. Mr. Narayanan, made specific reference to the irregularities in the recent appointments in the Excise Department. He did not state what the actual irregularity was. But I may assure the House that the Secretariat or the Government did not commit any irregularity in the appointment of Excise Inspectors recently made. All the recommendations made by the Excise Commissioner were sanctioned by Government without exception and no appointment was thrust upon him without his recommendation.

I do not see, Sir, where the irregularity comes in. One or two appointments have yet to be made and the Government have asked the Public Service Commissioner to make direct recruitment. It will thus be seen that the Government or the Secretariat has not done anything irregular or against the rules.

I do not want to go more into the details of the various allegations made by Mr. K. R. Narayanan. He said that he knew of many instances of irregularities but he refrained from mentioning them. Until the instances are specified I cannot repudiate them. I also tried to show

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yesterday that the present composition of the personnel of Superintendents, Assistant Secretaries and Secretaries is due not to any recent recruitment made by Government but to the recruitment made some twenty or twenty-five years ago. These Superintendents, Assistant Secretaries and Secretaries are there because they entered service long ago and by seniority, their work and merit they came to a stage from where they were promoted as Superintendents and Assistant Secretaries. It is not possible to give adequate representation to all the communities in these posts. It is not fair to overlook the just claims of members belonging to communities which may be considered to be over represented in service. But when opportunities do come, Government sometimes relax the rules to some extent and give prfeerence to members of other communities. But during recent years, the method of initial recruitment has undergone a change as will be seen from the figures for 1103 and 1112 showing the number of members belonging to the various communities in the staff of the Secretariat. In 1103 there were about 68 Brahmins and Nairs in the Secretariat and in 1112 also the number was the same. In 1103 there were only 38 members belonging to other communities in the Secretariat and in 1112, their numbers increased to 56.

MR. K. R. NARAYANAN: ഇങ്ങനെയുള്ള അഭിവൃദ്ധിയിൽ മറ്റു സവർണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്കൾക്കുകൂടി ഉൾപ്പെടുകയില്ലയോ?

RAO BAHADJR RAJYASEVANIRATA DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI: Of the savarna Hindus, only a few Vellalas are included. The classification of Hindus is Kammalas, Nadars, Ezhavas, Cheramars and other Hindus. The Vellalas come under "other Hindus". Then come Jacobites, Marthomites the South Indian United Church and so on. It is under these heads.

MR. K. R. NARAYANAN: അതിൽ മറ്റു ഹിന്ദുക്കൾ എത്രയുണ്ട്?

RAO BAHADJR RAJYASEVANIRATA D. N. KUNJAN PILLAI: The number under "Other Hindus" increased from 15 to 23 and the number of Ezhavas increased from 6 to 11 in the course of 10 years from 1103 to 1112. I do not say that all the communities have received their due share.

MR. K. R. NARAYANAN: ഈ ക്ലർക്കുമാരുടെ ഇപ്പോൾ സർവീസിൽ ഇരിക്കുന്നുണ്ടോ?

RAO BAHADUR RAJYASEVANIRATA DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI: They are permanent clerks and are in service. I do not for a moment hold, Sir, that all the communities have got their due share of representation in the Secretariat, but what I say is that in recent years the method of recruitment has undergone certain changes and as a result of these changes the communities which were not represented have begun to get representation.

MR. E. P. VARGHESE: May I know from the member whether any addition has been made to the total strength of the Secretariat staff since 1103?

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RAO BAHADUR RAJYASEVANIRATA DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI: The strength rose from 100 in 1103 to 122 in 1112 and all the additional places sanctioned went practically to communities other than the Brahmins and the Nairs. The method of recruitment has undergone certain radical changes since the introduction of the recent Public Service Recruitment Rules. As I stated yesterday, in the course of a year or so the Public Service Commissioner advised 2,703 appointments of which as many as 349 went to Ezhavas; that is to say, they got 12·8 per cent. of the total number of appointments advised by the Public Service Commissioner.

MR. K. KESAVAN: അവർ എല്ലാപേരും ഇപ്പോൾ സർവീസിൽ ഉണ്ടോ?

RAO BAHADUR RAJYASEVANIRATA DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI: I cannot say. I have to consult the various heads of departments as to how long these men were in service and how many of them are still in service.

MR. THARIATHU KUNJITHOMMEN: അതിൽ സിറിയൻ കത്തോലിക്കർ എത്രയുണ്ട്?

RAO BAHADUR RAJYA SEVANIRATHA DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI: ഒന്ന്.

MR K. KESAVAN: സാധാരണയായി ഇഴവരെ ഷാർട്ട് വേക്കൻസി കളിലല്ലയൊ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറു മേധാവികൾ നിയമിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു്?

RAO BAHADUR RAJYASEVANIRATA DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI: I do not think so, Sir.

MR. K. KESAVAN: സാധാരണയായി ഇഴവരെ ഷാർട്ടുവേക്കൻസി കളിലല്ലയൊ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറു മേധാവികൾ നിയമിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു്?

RAO BAHADUR RAJYASEVANIRATA DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI: I do not accept that statement, Sir. I do not think that any invidious distinction is being shown in the case of Ezhavas. I have been trying to show that inequalities are getting levelled up as is evident from the figures I have quoted, though the Public Service Recruitment Rules have been in force and the Public Service Commissioner has been functioning effectively only for about a year. In the course of a few years I am sure the various important communities will get their due share of representation.

MR. V. K. VELAYUDHAN: Was any appointment made in the Secretariat at the recommendation of the Public Service Comissioner?

RAO BAHADUR RAJYASEVANIRATA DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI: -No permanent appointment has been made in the Secretariat since the appointment of the Public Service Commissioner; only some men who have acted for a number of years have been confirmed in permanent vacancies in conformity with the Public Service Recruitment Rules. As I said yesterday, some acting appointments were made and they were conferred

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on persons who have acted for more than a year in the Secretariat and who have been earmarked for such appointments in view of their experience. All these men, and I believe there are some women also, were appointed in short vacancies as they arose. When the vacancies ceased, naturally they went out of employment and will be re-entertained when vacancies occur again. Out of 16 such acting hands there are only one Brahmin and two Nairs and the remaining 13 belong to other communities like Kammalas, Ezhavas, Christians and so on.

MR. P. K. KUNJU: ഇതിൽ ഏതെങ്കിലും ഒരുമുസ്ലീം ഉണ്ടോ?

RAO BAHADUR RAJYASEVANIRATA DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI: No Sir.

MR. THARIATHU KUNJITHOMMEN: ഈ ലിസ്റ്റിൽ സിറിയൻ കാത്തലിക്സിൽപ്പെട്ടവർ എത്രയുണ്ട്?

RAO BAHADUR RAJYASEVANIRATA DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI: One.

MR. P. K. KUNJU: മുസ്ലീം അപേക്ഷകന്മാർ ഒരാളും ഇല്ലാതിരുന്നതുകൊണ്ടാണോ ഈ ലിസ്റ്റിലില്ലാതെവന്നത്?

RAO BAHADUR RAJYASEVANIRATA DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI: I have stated that these men were reserved for appointment in the Secretariat because they had already acted and gained some experience. Out of the 16 men there are only one Brahmin and two Nairs, the rest being members of other Communities.

MR. E. P. VARGHESE: Are we to take it that no appointment has been made in the Secretariat on the recommendation of the Public Service Commissioner?

RAO BAHADUR RAJYASEVANIRATA DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI: There has not arisen an occasion till now to make an appointment on his recommendation. As I have already said, no exception has been made in the case of appointments in the Secretariat. The Public Service Recruitment Rules apply as much to the Secretariat as to other departments and, if the honourable members think that any exception is being made, they are mistaken. I hope that in course of time the present inequalities will be removed and that all the important communities will get their due share.

I may also add just one word more. Sir, I know, that among the Superintendents in the Secretariat there are a number of Nairs, two Brahmins and one Vellala and none other. There is a possibility of rectifying this defect by transfering some Superintendents as Tahsildars and vice versa. As both these classes of officers happen to be in the same scale of pay, Rs. 150-200, it is quite possible to interchange some of them.

MR. E. P. VARGHESE: Which will be a better place, Tahsildar or Superintendent?

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RAO BAHADUR RAJYASEVANIRATA DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI: It is for the individual concerned to decide whether it would be an advantage to him to come to the Secretariat on the same pay as a Tahsildar. The Tahsildar lives in a place where the cost of living is cheaper; he gets travelling allowance for his journeys and he is not under the direct and close supervision of the superior officers. It is a matter for consideration whether the Superintendents and the Tahsildars may not be interchanged in which case it will be possible to reduce the over-representation of some communities and give representation to unrepresented communities in the Secretariat. The same may probably apply to the Assistant Secretaries, because they belong to the same cadre as Assistant Peishkars. If there are qualified men among them, it may be possible to interchange some of these officers. I hope, Sir, that, in view of what I have stated Mr. Joseph Vithayathil will not press his motion.

PRESIDENT: I propose to address the Assemby; but Mr. Vithayathil, if he wants to say anything, may do so.

MR. JOSEPH VITHAYATHIL: I have to say only one or two words in reply to what the Official Member said. With regard to nominations to the Municipalities and to the Panchayat Courts it was stated that these people are selected from the nominees suggested by the Peishkars. It is true, Sir. But what is the result? The Peishkar may send three names but it is only one man who is selected.

PRESIDENT: The honourable member may probably wait to hear what I have to say on that, for I am going to deal with it at great length.

MR. JOSEPH VITHAYATHIL: With regard to the apprehension of the people as to whether they are getting justice at the hands of the Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries belonging to other communities, the Chief Secretary said that the apprehension is groundless. But, is that a reason for not appointing people belonging to different communities in these grades? The mere fact that the member of one community may not do injustice to a party belonging to any other community is absolutely no reason for not establishing communal equilibrium in the Secretariat, because the question is that the public should have confidence in the Government. Under the conditions in which we are living, there is no use denying the fact that we live as members of communities and there is a general feeling that unless there are officers belonging to all the important communities in a particular department, it is likely that the interests of one particular community may be safeguarded while those of another community may not be safeguarded. That is the whole question. Whether actual injustice is being done or not is not the question. I am at a loss to know whether, as a matter of fact, communal considerations are not influencing these officers. I am not in a position to say anything about that. But there is the general apprehension that owing to differences of opinion among the communities as a result of various causes, unless there is some sort of communal equilibrium established in the Secretariat, it is not possible for people to

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have confidence in the Secretariat and consequently in the Government itself. The Secretariat, as was said by some of the other members, is the heart of the whole administration. Unless communal equilibrium is established at least there, we cannot expect that there will be justice meted out to all communities in the various departments. Even when the Peishkar or the Land Revenue Commissioner sends up a recommendation, the whole thing depends upon the Secretariat. One cannot expect the head of the administration to go through all these things himself. Even the head of a department will have to depend to a great extent upon his head clerk. Very often the heads of departments commit mistakes because of the fact that the notes put up by the head clerks are not quite correct. If that is so even in the case of the head of a department, how can we expect the head of the administration, who has got multifarious duties, to go into all these matters himself and verify the correctness of the notes and to pass orders? As a human being he will have to a great extent depend on the notes prepared by the Secretaries. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to have communal equilibrium established in the Secretariat. That is a proposition, irrespective of the fact whether the particular officers who are now in the Secretariat are doing communal injustice or not. That is not the question. I once more repeat that a thorough re-organisation of the Secretariat is absolutely necessary. Then only will people have confidence in the Secretariat.

Then the Chief Secretary stated that the different Secretaries are dealing with different sections. As I said, that is immaterial so far as this question of communal representation is concerned. Of course, the question of the difficulties in getting this communal equilibrium established is an important one.

With regard to the question of practical difficulties in the way, I do realise that there are some difficulties; but they are not insurmountable. If the Government have the will, there will be a way. There have been instances in the past of officers of the Secretariat being recruited from outside. The present Chief Secretary, was, for instance, the Director of Agriculture. Mr. E. I. Chacko was employed in the P. W. D. Mr. G. N. Tampi was the Superintendent of the Museum, and he was appointed Assistant Secretary. The present Excise Commissioner who has been a Secretary to Government, was a Munsiff.

MR. M. L. JANARDANA PILLAI (*Nominated*): What about Mr. Chandy?

MR. JOSEPH VITHAYATHIL: He too was a Munsiff; that is another instance in point.

Therefore, Sir, if the Government really want to see that there is fair communal representation in the Secretariat it is not very difficult for them to achieve that object. Government can do it in the case of all grades of appointments. If, for instance, some communities are not adequately represented among the Tahsildars, where is the harm in recruiting from members of that community at the bar? It is not

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[Mr. Joseph Vithayathil.]

after all very difficult to study the necessary Rules and Regulations; that can be done in a week. If people who have never been in the Secretariat can be appointed to responsible posts there, we, the members of the bar certainly deserve to be trusted with such responsibilities. After all, Sir, several matters dealt with in the Secretariat, especially Revenue matters, go through the hands of vakils. Therefore, Sir, if the Government are anxious to do justice to all communities, they can do it without great difficulty.

Sir, as I said at the outset, I do not want to refer to particular instances. I shall rest content with a statement of the general proposition.

PRESIDENT: Ordinarily speaking, I should have, without any remarks, put the resolution to vote. But, as it has been stated on more than one occasion on the floor of this House and elsewhere that certain communities and certain political and other parties attach the greatest importance to this question of representation of various communities, especially in key positions, *soi disant*, like the Secretariat, and as it has been stated, and not often contradicted, that this is practically the pivotal point in the programme and policy of such communities or parties, I think it is necessary that the position of the Government should be made clear beyond all possible doubt. I have seen from my own personal experience that, for about a month before the meeting of the Sri Mulam Assembly or the Sri Chitra State Council, the Secretariat does practically no other work except the compilation of statistics, according to castes and communities and sub-communities, regarding appointees in every department and sub-department in the State; and I have had to give specific instructions to the Secretariat that, when they have other important work during such period, they should lay aside the task of compilation of communal statistics and do more important work. Although I have been here for over a year now, this thirst for statistical information from the communal point of view is growing and not decreasing. It is therefore highly expedient that I should make the position clear.

In the first place, it is the object of the Government definitely unequivocally and speedily, to redress communal inequalities whether such inequalities are due to historical or other reasons. Government realise that, on account of such historical and other reasons, there are now three communities that are largely represented in the services in this State, first, the Nair, second, the Brahmin and thirdly, the Marthoma and Jacobite Christians, who may perhaps be termed monopolists. These three communities are having a greater share of appointments for themselves than they are technically entitled to on the basis solely of population. Therefore, other things being equal—conditions as to efficiency and other matters being satisfied—it is the object of Government to give greater representation to the less represented communities

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so as to bring up, if possible, all communities to the same level. And, Government do not propose in this respect to make a fetish of efficiency; in other words, if a particular piece of work can be done fairly efficiently by a well educated person, it will not be the endeavour of the Government—nor is it its duty or its purpose—to choose, at the expense of one belonging to the unrepresented community, somebody who might be better. After all, it must be remembered that some communities are fortunately placed by reason of educational and financial advantages and that the others should be given special encouragement. Of course, this criterion does not and will not apply to specialists' appointments. Criticisms have been levelled, for instance against the selection of a particular person for the Income-Tax Department. One newspaper went to the extent of saying that he has either a relation or a friend of the Dewan. In fact until he arrived here, the Dewan was not acquainted with and hardly had set his eyes upon him; only after he arrived here he has been meeting the Dewan. The fact is that both the Accountant-Generals, the one at Madras and the other at Bombay who were consulted in the matter, recommended this gentleman. Such specialists' appointments stand on a separate footing and cannot, like University appointments, be decided on communal considerations but only on the basis of specific equipment. It was suggested in some quarters that some other small appointment was due to a projected matrimonial alliance. This betokens a lamentable state of mistrust in ones neighbour and incidentally in oneself. Government do realise that such criticisms are due certainly to distrust now existing in an aggravated form between various communities in the State. That distrust has to be dispelled. There is no doubt that the Government are alive to that and are willing to work for the removal, the eradication of that distrust.

Now, what is this resolution ?

> "This Assembly recommends to the Government that immediate steps be taken for giving proper representation in the Secretariat to all important communities in the State, especially in the places of Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries and Superintendents."

In arguing the case for this resolution, certain definite points were made ; and I shall deal with them.

The first point was with reference to nominations to municipalities and panchayats. With regard to that matter, as has been pointed out, recommendations come to the Secretariat from the Peishkars. Each of them sends up three names ; they also send a list of the persons already on the municipality or the panchayat, arranged according to communities so many Brahmins, so many Nairs, so many Christians, so many Ezhavas—all this kind of information is chronicled. The Secretary in charge of the Local Self-Government Section and not the Chief Secretary, primarily—makes a note ; and then it comes to the Dewan through the Chief Secretary. Undoubtedly, as has been asserted, the Dewan has many things to attend to at all events, he is bound to do many things ; whether he does them whether he is capable

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[President.]

of doing them, is a matter of opinion. It is the duty of the Dewan, not of the Chief Secretary or of any other Secretary, to make the actual appointment, the actual nomination : and the responsibility for such nominations will not and cannot be shared by the Dewan with the Chief Secretary or any other Secretary. There is one great difficulty attendant on these nominations—I am trying to work against it—and that is this: The moment the Peishkar sends up the names the facts seem to be known to everybody : and those in the list, those who are not in the list but who want to be nominated, all of them come here and seek to interview the Secretary, and to interview the Dewan. One rule that I follow is that those people who come to the Dewan with recommendations should as far as possible not be nominated. Men who are and ought to be sure of themselves should not be obliged to get recommendations. The presumption, if they adopt such methods, is that they are unfit. Therefore, if there is any discontent in that matter, discontent existing out of the fact that persons who were able to procure influential recommendations could not get the nomination that they wanted, the sole responsibility is that of the head of the administration and not of any officer of the Secretariat. As I have already stated, unless I am satisfied that, beyond the recommendation, there is some real qualification, speaking for myself, I veto the nomination of such recommended people. It may be a right or wrong policy but that is and will be my policy. When the Peishkar sends up three names, immediately, those three gentlemen are apt to come up and to tell me that 15 years ago there was a civil court decree against one of the other gentlemen in the list—I am speaking of a specific case and that he does not deserve to be nominated. As far as possible, whenever such people come to me, I invariably act on the basis not to nominate such persons. But, the sole responsibility in the matter is with the Dewan and not with any other officer of the Secretariat. I would repeat that the Dewan desires to take the fullest responsibility in the matter of these nominations to self-governing bodies. It may be that, on account of want of time or incapacity to work hard, or haste, want of caution, or rashness, mistakes might have been made. But, the Secretariat has nothing to do with these nominations to the municipalities or to the panchayats. I may assure the House that, except in those instances where persons bringing recommendations have been put out of consideration, in all other cases, nominations are made as far as possible from the communities not adequately represented in the institution except where some persons' special qualifications are useful for the work of the local body.

Then, coming to the Secretariat itself, I am the last person to derogate from the great importance of the position of the Chief Secretary. He has got certain powers of appointment himself. But, generally speaking, the Chief Secretary is only a recommending official. His recommendation comes to the Dewan. He passes orders, which are interim or provisional in certain cases. He has no final

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voice in the matter of appointments, especially in the higher ones and if the head of the Government is a person who knows his business and who has resolved to be an effective entity and not an automaton, the Chief Secretary will continue to be a recommendatory official and not the final disposing authority. I am not, in saying so, making the slightest disparagement to the occupant of that very high position, which is the highest position in the State next to that of the Chief Justice from the point of view of heaviness and importance of the work. But, to attribute to him the final disposal of matters, which he has no power so to dispose of, is I submit, to put him in the position of nine pins set up to be knocked down.

If that is the case with regard to the Chief Secretary, the position is certainly more definite with regard to the other Secretaries. Nevertheless, it is true that according to the noting on the files, the final decision can very radically be influenced; because, a very well-written note, putting forward a particular point of view or the claims of a particular person, may and often does appeal to the head of the Government, just as a very good note by the head of the department ought to appeal to the Secretariat, or a very good note from the Tahsildar appeals to the Peishkar, or of the Peishkar appeals to the Land Revenue Commissioner.

There is no gainsaying that in this way any one may be misled, but this is a contingency inevitable in all institutions and Governments. In all these matters, I trust, the House will realise, moreover, that there is and should be room for honest differences of opinion. But I want the House to realise that any note by the Chief Secretary, however convincing, is not the last word on the subject.

In regard to the question of communal representation in the Secretariat, there are certain obvious difficulties. In the first place it by no means follows that an Ezhava Secretary will deal with all Ezhava cases. In fact this will be impossible and, if such a rule were made, the Ezhavas will be the first to suffer because a really conscientious man will err on the side of severity so as to avoid imputations of partiality, and an unscrupulous Secretary will be soon found out and his recommendations treated as waste paper. I would like to remind the honourable members of this House of the persistent endeavour and the deliberate attempt made by the well known Justice Party of Madras, to bring about complete redress of communal inequalities. They raced against time. They started that work in 1921 and we are now in 1937. I selected some pages at random from the Madras Civil List, dealing with the Secretariat, the Judiciary, the Engineering service and the Medical service. The Justice Party has been in power for years. It was their definite policy to ensure that persons belonging to certain communities should be excluded, or at least should be kept back and not be preferred, for certain appointments. Formerly it was the Brahmin community, and now it is the Brahmin and the Nair communities. Yet, what do you find? In the list of subordinate Judges, we find

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[President.]

that, looking through page after page, the numerical predominance of the Brahmin and certain other communities still persists. In any case the backward classes for whom that Party avowed solicitude are nowhere. It cannot be otherwise and the result is due to historical causes which are neither recondite nor obscure.

For a long time certain communities have been educating themselves in a particular way and have come to occupy certain positions. These have, by seniority and efficiency, come up to a particular place. They cannot be sent out of that position without violent dislocation of official arrangement and official decorum and propriely. All that can be done is to look to communal representation in the case of initial recruitment.

So far as initial recruitment is concerned, how does the position stand? It will be true to say that in no single case has the Public Service Commissioner been overruled. I will go further and say that it will be untrue to say that in any single case has any recommendation of the Public Service Commissioner been turned down so far as the head of the Government is concerned. What is more, steps are being taken, and will be taken, to see that practically all the appointments which were made for places now outside the scope and jurisdiction of the Public Service Commissioner will be transferred to the Public Service Commissioner, so that, hereafter, practically the whole of the initial recruitment of officers, except those occupying certain very high places which are within the prerogative of His Highness, will be made in consultation with the Public Service Commissioner. He works according to certain rules of communal representation. Those rules have been acclaimed and welcomed. Therefore it cannot be said that those rules are calculated to produce any injustice or hardship.

That being granted, what is the position of the Secretariat, which is the subject-matter of this resolution? There again, I turn to the actual Travancore Quarterly Civil List. Suppose it is the recruitment of a Secretary. From whom should the Secretary be taken? One of my honourable friends asked why the recruitment cannot be made from the bar if there is nobody else. Now, the principle of recruitment from the bar, so far as the Secretariat is concerned, has not been accepted. That has been accepted in the case of judicial and certain other appointments. I may assure honourable members that, if exceptions are made in the case of recruitment to the Secretariat, there will be greater discontent than now and not less greater discontent because people in the service after hard and indefatigable work would find that somebody from outside goes over their heads. That complaint is heard even from the subordinate ranks of the Judicial Department though all over the world it is recognised that, so far as the judiciary is concerned, leadership at the bar is the main criterion for recruitment. Nevertheless, so far as the Secretariat and other appointments are concerned, if recruitment is made from the bar or from the ranks of public men it

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will ereate discontent in the service and would not please anybody except those who are recruited and there will be the same unhealthy scramble amongst the members of the bar belonging to various communities. Furthermore, many backward communities are not at all adequately represented at the bar.

Taking the Civil List, let us consider the question of recruitment to Secretaryship as a practical proposition. Suppose for instance Government made up its mind today that there should be no Secretary belonging to the Brahmin, the Nair and the important Christian communities who have already secured fairly good representation Where do we stand? Among Assistant Peishkars, there is nobody else: among Tahsildars practically there is nobody else excepting one or two. Can it be suggested that the 20th or 30th man should be made Secretary to Government? It appears to me that it would be impossible to deal with the question in that manner. Nevertheless, if an occasion arises, Government will not hesitate to choose, and will be perfectly agreeable to choose, to the highest position in the Secretariat people who do not belong to any of the communities which I have referred to as the monopolist communities when efficient candidates are available even from outside the Secretariat. There will be no hesitation on the matter although even there it might be said that, just as was actually said by somebody, "why is the direct line not taken. Why should not an Assistant Secretary become a Secretary and a Secretary become the Chief Secretary?" Government are willing to go beyond this and choose people so as to secure communal concord and amity if it can be secured by widening the scope of choice. It is not that they are unwilling and reluctant to do so, but there are practical difficulties in introducing in the midst of senior men new persons. It is a very different matter so far as initial recruitment is concerned. Therefore, when honourable members argue in this strain, let them remember that it is not the intention of Government to perpetuate any distinctions. It is the aim of Government to bring about amity and concord among all communities in the matter of recruitment to the services. But it is only in the case of initial recruitment that useful and effective steps can be taken. And steps have been taken for that purpose by the Public Service Commissioner. Whenever a suitable occasion arises Government will not shrink from taking up the responsibility in other cases also—cases of transfer from one department to another and even, in exceptional cases, of recruitment from without or preferment from without.

That having been said, I ask, after all, what sin has a person committed who is actually in service and who belongs to the monopolist communities above named. When he came into the service he came in under the rules operating at the time and gradually became the first or second in the list. To say that he should suffer because a junior, who is perhaps not as good as he is, has the advantage of belonging to an unrepresented group would be to deal inequitably.

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[President.]

Bearing all these things in mind, Government will proceed on the lines indicated. Government will proceed in the fervent hope that the communities will cease to think of these matters as the prerogatives held fast by one community which have to be snatched away from that community. Government will work for the creation of a new mentality based on just and equitable treatment and based on a recognition of the need to leve up the whole community in the matter of opportunities for service, preferment and distinction; Government will try to do even justice. In doing its duty, Government are confronted with one or two difficulties. I have found that the system of recommendations here is more widespread and rife than anywhere else within my experience. During 30 years of public life, I have not seen anything like what is obtaining here. The industry displayed in discovering all one's relations and friends is both amazing and melancholy. I have got letters from relations and friends in Northern India and friends in England in respect, not only of appointments and promotions, but even of registries of land. When such letters come, they are and will be sent to the Secretariat with the direction that as far as possible the recipients of those letters are not to be treated preferentially, but their claims are to be postponed to really deserving cases. Everyone who relies on chits will be penalised but not so as to produce injustice.

The Honourable members of this House, who are the custodians of the dignity of this House, and not only of the House but of the whole country, would, I hope, set their face resolutely against this kind of lobbying and recommendations. If that is borne in mind, it will, I hope, also be borne in mind that Government seek honestly to be fair to all communities. They may succeed or fail, but Government are as apt as other human beings and institutions to err perhaps more apt to err. Let them be judged with strictness but also with comprehension of their difficulties. Let us hope that the future will usher in an era of mutual trust and communal fairness in thought and deed without which the future of the State and of our country will be dark and gloomy indeed.

The Resolution was, by leave, withdrawn.

FEE CONCESSION.

MR. JOSEPH VITHAYATHIL: Sir, I move the following resolution :

This Assembly recommends to the Government that fee concession for education should be granted to communities solely on the basis of their economic condition.

Before I proceed to speak on this resolution, I wish to know from Government whether they have passed any orders recently on the subject.

PRESIDENT: As a matter of fact, representations have been received from very reputable and important quarters on this matter. It is under consideration and final orders are expected to be issued within a fortnight.

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